

756 264 THE CUBEO

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

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The shaman, whether *yaví* or *paríkhokú*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior.

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The *yaví*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yaví*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

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The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

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The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duwáyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókúhú* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddóx*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitábo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókúhú* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart; (6) *kuria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridú* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kuria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duwáyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddóx* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

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After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

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* Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.